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New York

President:	Mr. Ma Zhaoxu	(China)
Members:	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Mrs. Cordova Soria
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. Ipo
	Equatorial Guinea	Mr. Ndong Mba
	Ethiopia	Mr. Woldegerima
	France	Mr. Delattre
	Kazakhstan	Mr. Temenov
	Kuwait	Mr. Alotaibi
	Netherlands	Mrs. Gregoire Van Haaren
	Peru	Mr. Tenya
	Poland	Ms. Wronecka
	Russian Federation	Mr. Safronkov
	Sweden	Mr. Skoog
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Hickey
	United States of America	Mr. Cohen

Agenda

The situation in Libya

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The meeting was called to order at 3 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Libya

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of Libya to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, to participate in this meeting.

Mr. Salamé is joining the meeting via video tele-conference from Tripoli.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I now give the floor to Mr. Salamé.

Mr. Salamé: Allow me to congratulate the People's Republic of China on its presidency of the Security Council this month. I am grateful for this opportunity to brief the Council on our work in Libya.

Since my previous briefing, in early September (see S/PV.8341), the violence in Tripoli finally ended. In the one month of fighting, over 120 lives were lost, including those of 34 women and children. As a result of the ceasefire agreement brokered by the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), the parties agreed to stop the violence. On 25 September, most of the attackers from outside the city withdrew.

Since then, we have sought to transform a challenge into an opportunity. We have dedicated ourselves to the consolidation of the ceasefire — on the ground and at the political level — to minimize the prospect of a similar crisis. The new security arrangements committee for greater Tripoli crafted a comprehensive security plan for the capital that has received the endorsement of the Presidency Council. Armed group elements will withdraw from key installations and official buildings, while reserve forces will be deployed on the edge of the city. A joint operations centre has been working well to coordinate that process to move forward.

The implementation has indeed started. Several armed groups have withdrawn from positions in ministries and indicated a readiness to hand over the port and civilian terminal of Mitiga airport to State control. There is a fragile but palpable sense of improvement across the capital. The concept that we have been working on is clear and balanced. While armed groups from outside the city should not attempt to invade it again, armed groups operating within the city must stop using their position to penetrate, intimidate or control the sovereign institutions. Looking forward, the city should be protected by disciplined, regular police forces. Success in the capital is crucial, not only because it houses most of the Government institutions and 30 per cent of the Libyan population, but also because what works in Tripoli can be a model to be repeated in other cities across the country.

Among the drivers of conflict are the appalling conditions in the prisons. Hundreds of Libyans and foreigners are illegally and inhumanely detained and used to extract ransoms. Some prisons have become incubators for extremist ideology and terrorist groups. While the crisis prompted the issuance of a decree ordering the judiciary to review the files of the thousands of prisoners who have been languishing in jail, only 255 of those prisoners have been released. That process needs to be expedited and the armed groups must return control of the detention facilities to the authorities. Prisons that have effectively become for-profit private enterprises operated by armed groups under State cover should be immediately shuttered. The Mission has established a special task force on prison reform.

The unity of the Council was invaluable in its support of our efforts to broker the ceasefire. The threat and application of sanctions to those involved in violent or criminal action appear to have had a tangible effect in altering the behaviour of many armed actors. Impunity must end. The phenomena of armed men assaulting medical facilities and personnel, extorting money from financial institutions and women waiting in line for banking services are immoral, illegal and criminal. That must cease immediately. That was my message on Tuesday when I visited Al-Jalaa Hospital for Women and Childbirth to express the solidarity of the United Nations with staff, after health workers there were assaulted by members of an armed gang.

The appointment of a new Minister of the Interior signalled a decision to seriously engage on security in

a robust and more determined manner. I am pleased to report that the Minister's first decree was to establish a human rights unit within the Ministry. There is now a window of opportunity to address the tremendous challenges that Libyan security institutions have faced since 2011, and UNSMIL has seized it. The forthcoming conference on Libya, to be hosted by the Government of Italy in Palermo, is an occasion for Member States to offer tangible support for the training of professional security forces. I thank the Member States that have already offered assistance. Libyans should be helped to turn the page on their reliance on armed groups for their protection. In the medium term, we should also contribute to unifying and restructuring a professional national army and contribute to the Egyptian-led process.

The violence in September reflects the underlying fragility in the country. The Libyan conflict is in large part a conflict over resources, and until that is resolved, stability will remain elusive. Libya is wealthy. Oil production reaches up to 1.3 million barrels of oil per day. This country of 6.5 million people has seen revenues of over $13 billion in the first half of the year alone. However, those figures obfuscate the truth. Libyans have been increasingly impoverished, while criminals employ violence and patronage networks to steal billions from the national coffers. Ironically, the violence in Tripoli offered a unique opportunity to introduce long-awaited and much-needed economic reforms. On 12 September, a range of economic measures were launched in order to improve the living conditions of the Libyan people and reduce opportunities for militias in the shadow economy.

The imposition of fees on foreign currency transactions caused an almost 25 per cent drop in the black-market exchange rate. Closing the gap between the official and black-market rate reduces the margin for exploitation. Prices have dropped for basic goods — sugar, bread, school supplies and second-hand cars. Many of the long-standing concerns have been mitigated, with the liquidity crisis receding and the queues outside banks shrinking. Where there used to be deficits, the public coffers now enjoy a surplus.

That was only the first step. More must be done to further normalize the situation and prevent gains from being rolled back. The phasing-out of fuel subsidies for direct cash transfers will increase the real income of poor families while preventing billions of dinars from falling into the hands of smugglers.

One of the country's underlying dysfunctions is the division of its main financial institutions. To promote reunification and financial accountability, UNSMIL proceeded with the request made by the Presidency Council to the Security Council on 10 July for a financial review of the Central Bank of Libya and its parallel branch in the east. Yesterday, I hosted the second meeting between Central Bank Governor Al-Kabir and Deputy Governor Al-Hebri, at which an agreement was reached on the terms of reference and the way ahead. Here too, the upcoming Palermo conference could provide an opportunity to gain more practical support for establishing a system for redistributing national wealth to the benefit not of overnight millionaires but of the entire population.

Security and the economy are two of the three pillars required for stability. The third is the political pillar. The Presidency Council's cabinet reshuffle on 7 October ushered in four new ministers. The United Nations will support further appointments to help improve the delivery of services and security to the Libyan people. UNSMIL focus remains on policies, not on politicians, and on improving institutions, not on promoting individuals. Efforts to amend the Presidency Council continue. UNSMIL welcomes the continued contact between members of the House of Representatives and the High Council of State, which started in the meetings UNSMIL organized between them in the fall of 2017. We shall see if a true agreement can be reached.

The Libyan people, the United Nations and the international community have given the House of Representatives every opportunity to act in the best interests of the country, but the House has failed to uphold its responsibilities. Months after a binding commitment to producing the legislation required to hold a referendum on the draft constitution and presidential and parliamentary elections, no such legislation has emerged. It is now clear that the postponed sessions and contradictory public statements have been intended simply to waste time. The body calling itself Libya's sole legislature is largely sterile. To both Houses, elections are a threat that must be resisted at all costs, but to the citizens elections are a means of liberation from the ineffective and increasingly illegitimate authorities. According to our latest poll, which I received this morning, 80 per cent of Libyans insist on having elections as soon as possible.

Countless Libyans are sick and tired of military adventurism and petty political manoeuvres. The time has come to give a wider and more representative group of Libyans the opportunity to meet on Libyan soil, with no external interference, in order to identify a clear path out of the present impasse, reinforced by a clear timetable. They want to move forward with the National Conference, and I agree. That is the way forward. A summer of tragic events — with terrorist attacks, the oil crescent crisis, Derna battles and, most recently, the Tripoli clashes — have compelled us to delay this important, potentially historic event, which evidently cannot be organized in times of acute polarization or armed clashes.

Now, conditions are more propitious. The National Conference is to be held in the first weeks of 2019. The subsequent electoral process should commence in the spring of the same year. The Conference will be Libyan-led and Libyan-owned. It will build on and develop the contributions of the thousands of Libyans who participated in the 77 preparatory meetings held throughout the country and abroad in the spring of this year. The Conference will provide a platform for and give voice to the Libyan people. With it, they can push the Libyan Political Agreement institutions — the House of Representatives, the High Council of State and the Government of National Accord — to take the necessary and long-awaited steps to move the political process forward.

The Conference is neither intended to be a new institution, nor is it an effort to replace existing legislative bodies. Rather, as provided for by the Libyan Political Agreement itself, it shall create a space for Libyans to crystallize their vision for the transition and no longer be ignored by their politicians. International support for the National Conference recommendations will be crucial to ensuring its success.

I must now address the situation in the south of the country, which is becoming ever more precarious. We are seeing a complete collapse in the provision of services to the population, rising terrorism and criminality, rampant lawlessness, threats to the oil fields and the water infrastructure upon which the nation relies, foreign armed groups on Libyan soil and shortages of everything, from fuel to cash and from medicine to food. The problems are countless and no State institutions are there to tackle them. Long ignored and marginalized, and now used as a theatre for outsiders, resentment in the South is deepening.

We encourage Member States to support the Libyan authorities in addressing the foreign presence. The threat posed by open borders has facilitated the presence of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Sham (ISIS), Al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups across the south of Libya. That threat was again highlighted by the 29 October ISIS attack on the village of Al-Fuqaha.

We will continue working with the local authorities to provide humanitarian assistance, and urge the Government of National Accord to step up its delivery of services. We would of course welcome the Council's efforts in that regard. To that effect, this month we will organize a specific briefing to the international community on the situation in the south in all of its complexity.

While the east remains more stable, political, there are still political, humanitarian and security challenges there, including the way people coming from Derna are being treated. By my next briefing, we will have opened a United Nations office in Benghazi, which will enable us to better serve people across the east of the country.

I also welcome the Presidency Council's decision to establish the Women's Support and Empowerment Unit on 24 October, in line with the Libyan Political Agreement. This is a landmark development for all Libyan women. UNSMIL remains committed and ready to provide support to the Unit, and urges the international community do the same.

Libya is caught in a futile and destructive cycle, fuelled by personal ambitions and the nation's stolen wealth. While it is endowed with great human and material resources, Libya is fast becoming a tragedy of lost opportunity. The risks are too high to allow that to continue. Civilians are being killed in indiscriminate fighting, terrorists are looking at Libya as a shelter following their defeats elsewhere, human rights are violated on a daily basis, and the next generation of Libyans is being held back from fulfilling its potential.

Despite the complexity of the crisis, the solution is straightforward. The path to stability requires that the demands and needs of the Libyan citizens guide the way and that politicians follow. Together, we must support the citizens in addressing their institutions, pressing them to listen and compelling them to deliver on what is required of them.

Having taught international relations for a good part of my life, I acknowledge that competition and rivalry

between Powers is normal, and somehow legitimate, but the reflection of that on Libya is truly detrimental. Too many use it as an excuse to maintain an unfair and volatile status quo that impoverishes Libyans and transforms the country into a source of alarm for its neighbours and beyond. The unity of the international community is therefore crucial if we want progress in Libya's stabilization. The real challenge is to rebuild a united, legitimate and sustainable State — no less than that.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Salamé for his briefing.

I now give the floor to those Council members who wish to make statements.

Mr. Hickey (United Kingdom): Let me begin by thanking Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé for his briefing and by reiterating the United Kingdom's strong support for him and the work of all his team on the ground.

It is clear that a military solution to Libya's problems will not bring the long-term peace and stability that the country needs. All Libyans must come together in a spirit of compromise and engage in the United Nations-led political process. The United Kingdom fully supports the additional clarity that Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé has provided on the next steps in implementing his action plan of September 2017. A Libyan-led, Libyan-owned national conference will provide an opportunity to forge greater consensus among Libyan stakeholders on the way forward on some of the key questions relating to Libya's political transition. Let me highlight three important building blocks to help make the Libyan national conference a success.

First, as Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé said, participants in the national conference should be drawn from as broad a political, regional, tribal and ethnic spectrum as possible. It will also be vital for women to be represented.

Secondly, Libya's political institutions will need to work with the national conference and take account of its outcomes. That will signal that they have the best interests of the Libyan people at heart and that they are committed to finding a durable political solution to Libya's crisis. The Libyan people will not understand if those institutions continue to fail to do what has been asked of them. It is vital that Libya's institutions deliver the essential public services across the country for the good of the Libyan people.

Thirdly, it is essential that the international community and the Security Council now support Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé and the United Nations action plan. The conference hosted by Italy in Palermo will be an important opportunity to demonstrate wider international and Libyan support for the United Nations-led effort, including the national conference. It will also offer the chance to secure important commitments from the Libyans in terms of economic reform and the establishment of more sustainable and credible security arrangements.

We also look forward to seeing Libyan delegations at Palermo that are inclusive and representative of the Libyan people. To that end. We congratulate the Presidency Council on establishing women's empowerment units within it and the ministries of the Government of National Accord. Those units should now be given the authority and resources that they need to be effective.

Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé touched on the challenging security situation in Libya. We welcome the progress on security arrangements in Tripoli since the ceasefire in September, and we thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé for his efforts in securing the ceasefire. Such arrangements should not be limited only to the capital. A sustainable security architecture across the country is necessary for a secure and stable Libya.

The United Kingdom continues to recognize the importance of tackling terrorist threats in Libya. We again express our deep concern about the humanitarian situation, including in Derna. We reiterate the urgent need for humanitarian access to the civilian population. Those who violate international humanitarian law will be held to account.

On the economy, the recently introduced transaction fee on foreign exchange in Libya must now pave the way for wider work on economic reform. We all must support the work of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya and the international financial institutions to put in place further reforms. We also welcome the progress made towards an audit of the Central Bank of Libya. That should take place in parallel with work to reunify the Central Bank of Libya and its counterpart in the east.

Lastly, we welcome the recent visit by the members of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya, which enabled them to better understand the dynamics in the country. We look forward to seeing how that will translate into even more targeted and effective sanctions against the spoilers. We call on the Libyan authorities to do more to ensure that the sanctions are implemented effectively.

Finally, Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé told us that Libya was rapidly becoming the tragedy of lost opportunity. The United Kingdom calls on all parties in Libya and the members of the Security Council to unite behind the United Nations efforts in order to ensure that we seize this opportunity for an inclusive political solution.

Mr. Skoog (Sweden): I would like to thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé for his briefing today and for the excellent work that he and his staff are doing on the ground. I also once again thank him for facilitating last week's important, indeed historic, visit by the members of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya.

We read the reports and our cables but nothing can really replace a field visit. Last week, I was in Tripoli for less than two days but that was enough to realize how the spike in violence in Tripoli at the end of August and in September had really shattered the capital and put the country on the brink of collapse. The windows of the oil company were blown out by rockets and the building remains with glaring holes as a symbol of fragility. If it were not for the mediation efforts of the United Nations, and of course the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the situation could have easily spiralled out of control and we could have seen a return to 2014.

Hopefully, that is now a signal to those who thrive and hold on to the status quo that that is not tenable. The ceasefire, as well as the recently announced security agreement in Tripoli, must now be effectively implemented. We urge all parties to end hostilities, refrain from further destabilizing threats or actions and protect civilians.

The crisis at the end of August should also be a wake-up call for us all and serve as a turning point for the political process. We all agree that only through political solutions can there be sustainable peace in Libya. The Libyans themselves must of course own the political process. However, active international support and unity are needed. The facilitating role of the United Nations is critical in that regard.

Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé's determined efforts to use his good offices and promote reconciliation and dialogue between the east and the west, as well as the intention to expand the presence of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya to the eastern part of the country, should be commended. All international and regional partners need to unite in fully backing the United Nations efforts.

We welcome Mr. Salamé's plans, as he outlined to us today, to prepare for a national conference at the beginning of next year. The upcoming conference can provide an important opportunity to find a way out of the current protracted transition and to promote conditions for free and fair elections. My United Kingdom colleague rightly pointed to the virtue of inclusivity at the national conference.

We must therefore now urge all Libyan actors to engage responsibly and constructively in the process and work together in a spirit of peaceful compromise. The House of Representatives, for its part, must honour its commitment to ensuring a legal framework for elections. The elections must in turn be thoroughly prepared to ensure that the necessary conditions are in place, and all parties should recommit to respecting the election results.

The recent crisis also provides an opportunity to address some of the underlying root causes. Economic issues underpin the conflict, and there is little chance to make progress unless serious efforts are undertaken. Predatory economic practices and profiteering for personal gain must be more effectively countered. Economic reforms are also critical to ensure a fairer and more equitable distribution of resources. Recent initiatives are encouraging. However, more needs to be done to enhance transparency and accountability, fight corruption and promote the unity of the financial institutions. I met with some key new ministers in charge of finances and internal affairs who seem to understand all the challenges and to be committed to starting work to address them. They need to be supported.

To restore stability, there is an urgent need to establish functioning and unified security institutions. Security-sector reform and further efforts to build professional armed forces and police should be a priority.

Any sustainable political solution in Libya will require the full and equal participation of women. We stress the importance of women being engaged at all stages and levels of the political process. For instance, women should be adequately represented in the Libyan delegations to the upcoming Palermo conference and have seats at the table.

Continued reports of human rights violations and abuses, including sexual and gender-based violence, are of deep concern. The widespread abuses in prisons, detention facilities and migrant centres are unacceptable and must be stopped, as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General rightly pointed out. We welcome the introduction of sexual and gender-based violence as a separate listing criterion for sanctions in resolution 2441 (2018), adopted earlier.

The sanctions Committee's visit to Libya on 1 and 2 November was the first of its kind since the adoption of the sanctions regime in 2011. It provided the opportunity to obtain first-hand information from various counterparts, receive briefings on the political transition and security situation, review the implementation of sanctions and strengthen the engagement and cooperation with the Panel of Experts. I hope that the planned visit to the eastern part of the country that had to be postponed this time can be carried out soon.

The aim of the sanctions is to advance peace, security and stability. In 2018, seven individuals were added to the sanctions list for engaging in acts that meet the sanctions designation criteria, including violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law, attacks against oil installations and attempts to export oil illegally. This shows the readiness of the sanctions Committee to use this tool in pursuit of peace and stability and to protect the broader interests of the Libyan people.

The illegal flow of arms continues to fuel the conflict and cause suffering to the civilian population. In my meeting with President Serraj, he pointed to reported violations of the arms embargo. All United Nations Members must do more to fully implement the sanctions, including the arms embargo, and the Council needs to act on reported violations. We remain open to further use of the sanctions instrument, including against those who seek to obstruct the United Nations-facilitated process.

Upholding the sanctions regime is also crucial to helping ensure that Libya's natural resources are protected and properly managed for the benefit of the Libyan people. This applies also to the country's frozen assets. As Chair, as well as in our national capacity, we have listened carefully to Libya's concerns regarding the management of frozen funds. We have actively pursued a way forward on this issue in discussions with other members of the sanctions Committee, Libyan representatives in New York and now in Tripoli, and the entities whose assets are frozen.

I am encouraged by the readiness expressed by Libya to continue its dialogue with the World Bank to start finding a way forward on this issue, even if only a partial one. We stand ready to continue supporting that process.

The people of Libya want peace; they want security; and they want a brighter future for their children. The main conclusion from my visit last week is that the status quo is untenable. The recent crisis was a close call. We are now at a time when momentum should be seized to break the impasse and firmly put Libya back on a credible path towards peace and unity. The Council, the wider United Nations membership and regional organizations have a common strategic interest in Libya reaching a political solution.

From almost every situation on our agenda, we know that unity in the Council and among the main regional players and neighbouring countries is a key element for success. We must therefore stand united and rally behind the United Nations-facilitated process. The high-level conference to be held in Palermo next week will provide an opportunity in this regard.

Mr. Alotaibi (Kuwait) (*spoke in Arabic*): I, too, would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), Mr. Ghassan Salamé, for his briefing.

I will focus on two main topics: security and political developments, and economic developments.

First, with respect to security and political developments, the security situation in the capital, Tripoli, has improved significantly since our most recent meeting on the situation in Libya, on 5 September (see S/PV.8341). The role played by UNSMIL, led by Mr. Salamé, had a clear impact on reducing tensions and improving the security situation. Those efforts

led to a ceasefire and a revitalization of the work of the security institutions, particularly the security arrangements committee.

We welcome the adoption by the Government of National Accord of its resolution 1437, adopting the joint security plan for greater Tripoli, which will establish security arrangements for the protection of civilians and private and public property and for establishing public order by regular police and security forces instead of armed groups. In addition, the plan will set up mechanisms to coordinate with UNSMIL, and we hope that all stakeholders in Tripoli will cooperate with and respond to this plan so as to enhance the security and safety of civilians and promote stability in Libya.

The instability in Libya requires that the international community and the Security Council make further efforts to find a permanent solution aimed at preventing the spread of armed groups through support for legitimate, unified security institutions that are subject to the authority and supervision of the State, with a view to promoting the transitional process and the political process as set out in the United Nations action plan. That will help to prevent the spread of terrorist groups such as the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (Da'esh), which continues to exploit the political and security vacuum to implement its destructive plans. That is particularly true in the southern part of the country, which, as we heard from Mr. Ghassan Salamé, is witnessing an unprecedented level of insecurity, including a total absence of services and the threat of spreading criminality.

In the context of the United Nations plan in Libya, we commend the role of UNSMIL, which continues to meet with various Libyan institutions and political and social stakeholders. Most recently it met with the two heads of the dialogue committees related to the House of Representatives and the High Council of State, where they issued a joint press statement on the importance of restructuring the executive authority and unifying State institutions leading to end the division in the country.

We hope that the international conference to be held in Palermo, Italy, on 12 and 13 November will push the Libyan political process forward and help end division and the spread of armed militias, leading to a unified Libya that is stable and free of any threat to its peace and security while representing all Libyans.

Secondly, concerning economic developments, we are relieved that the production of oil in Libya has been resumed and has reached its normal level of about 1.3 million barrels a day, therefore overcoming any negative impact resulting from the armed clashes in the oil crescent region last June. This accelerated recovery is clear evidence of the will of the Libyan people to move forward towards an economic future in a country that enjoys security and stability and where their aspirations can be met.

In order to achieve economic and development stability in Libya, we commend the adoption by the Government of National Accord of the long-awaited economic reform programme, which will play a significant role in enabling Libyan economic institutions to provide better services to the brotherly Libyan people. The positive effects of the programme have helped the exchange rate of the Libyan dinar against foreign currencies to recover and increase. We stress the importance of accountability and of coordinating with Libyan financial and economic institutions to preserve the wealth of the Libyan people and prevent waste.

We renew our support to the efforts of Mr. Salamé to facilitate the comprehensive political process in Libya according to the United Nations plan, and to open an UNSMIL office in Benghazi during the upcoming period. We urge all Libyan parties to work together towards a peaceful settlement of the crisis by engaging constructively and with determination in all technical, legislative, political and security tasks necessary to hold comprehensive, transparent and peaceful elections, with a view to building a unified and stable Libya.

In conclusion, we welcome the visit of the representative of Sweden last week in his capacity as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya, and we look forward to a briefing on this visit in which our delegation participated.

Mr. Delattre (France) (*spoke in French*): First of all, I would like to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for his particularly enlightening briefing on the latest developments in Libya and for his tireless work. I also thank the Ambassador of Sweden for his briefing on the work of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya and his visit there in early November.

The security situation in Libya, as described by Mr. Ghassan Salamé, is a source of concern. Struggles for influence among the militias continue on the ground.

After clashes in Tripoli, several attacks took place in late October and early November against Libyan financial institutions, two schools and a hospital. The situation is also deteriorating in the south of the country, with the intrusion of foreign groups on Libyan soil. A terrorist attack claimed by Da'esh was perpetrated, as has already been mentioned, on 28 October in Central Libya after a first attack in early October, which is again extremely worrying.

In this context, I would like to once again welcome, on behalf of France, the efforts and commitment of Special Representative Ghassan Salamé and his robust mobilization on security developments. We remain engaged alongside him to achieve a lasting return to calm and the effective implementation of security arrangements in Tripoli. Faced with this unstable situation, the unification of the Libyan armed forces under civil authority remains a priority. I welcome the military dialogue sponsored by Egypt in this regard.

In this context, I wish to reiterate our concern about continuing economic predation and various attempts to destabilize the fragile equilibrium in Libya. As underscored by Mr. Ghassan Salamé on 5 September before the Council (see S/PV.8341), the predation economy lies at the heart of the Libyan challenge, as it encourages many actors to perpetuate the status quo rather than support the political transition. I want to make it very clear here that all those who threaten the peace, security and stability of Libya are liable to international sanctions. The renewal of the sanctions regime early this week (see S/PV.8389) allowed us to recall this, as did the recent designation by the Council of Ibrahim Jadhran, who stands accused of trafficking in persons. Other designations should also be considered, especially in view of the violence in Tripoli in recent months.

In this context, the pursuit of economic reforms is also a priority, particularly in terms of the collegial functioning of the Libyan Central Bank and the transparent management of Libya's resources to the benefit of all Libyans. I encourage the Special Representative to pursue his efforts in this regard, in conjunction with all relevant actors and in support of the Prime Minister's request to the Council. The conference to be held next week in Palermo, at the invitation of the Italian authorities, must be an opportunity to launch resolute action by the Libyan people and the international community against the predation economy.

The humanitarian situation also continues to deteriorate dramatically, particularly the situation of migrants and refugees, who face daily human rights violations. France reiterates its appeals to the Libyan authorities to spare no effort to ensure that migrants and refugees are treated with dignity. This is a top priority, both in terms of human rights protection and in the fight against organized crime. It is therefore urgent to progress on the path towards a political settlement, which brings me to my last point.

The Palermo conference, which the Italian authorities have undertaken to host in the wake of the Paris meeting on 29 May, gives the international community the opportunity to mobilize and demonstrate its unity in support of the efforts of the Special Representative and Libyans themselves. France welcomes this initiative, which should enable us to advance on all matters — including security, the economy and the political process — and in which our Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jean-Yves Le Drian, will participate. It is essential to maintain our full support for the efforts of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) and the Special Representative to break the institutional stalemate and advance the transition in Libya.

I thank the Special Representative for providing us with more detail on his framework for action through the National Conference, which we fully support. Libyans have demonstrated their peaceful aspirations for change by registering in their masses on electoral lists; their voices must be heard. The alternative to elections is the perpetuation of the predation economy and the rule of militias. This would allow free rein for those tempted to take the fate of Libya hostage. Only elections with a precise, rapid and ambitious calendar can anchor stability in Libya.

The status quo is our common enemy because it mechanically prolongs instability. However, there is a window of opportunity for a political dynamic. The Libyan actors must honour the commitments they made in Paris in May in order to break with the status quo and encourage this dynamic. The Palermo conference organized by Italy must be part of this framework, in the presence of the relevant actors, and reiterate the support of the international community for the UNSMIL action plan. It is fundamental that we support all these efforts and show real unity in encouraging Libyans to maintain the course set by the Special Representative. France

will continue to work in this direction with all members of the Council.

Mr. Cohen (United States): We, too, would like to thank Special Representative Salamé for his important and detailed briefing, and I would like to thank Ambassador Skoog for sharing his impressions from his recent trip to Libya.

The stakes for achieving stability and progress in Libya have never been higher. In recent months, heavily armed militias have continued to fight each other, street by street, to control property and resources, without consideration for their fellow Libyans. Thousands of desperate people from across the continent, wishing for a better life, continue to die after setting sail from Libya's shores, despite the decline in migrant smuggling and trafficking this year. The Islamic State in Iraq and the Sham and other violent extremist groups continue to look for safe havens in areas beyond the Government's authority. Too often, the international community has failed to speak with one voice in support of United Nations mediation, creating excuses for recalcitrant Libyan leaders to pull their country back towards chaos.

The Libyan people are suffering and simply want what we all deserve: security, dignity and a chance for prosperity. For far too many Libyans, the promise of a new life — following the decades-long tyranny of a brutal dictatorship — has begun to fade, as a small number of Libyan leaders and armed groups prey upon Libya's wealth and pursue their narrow self-interests at the expense of the country. It does not have to be this way.

Amid all the setbacks, we continue to look to the leadership of Special Representative Salamé to break the impasse that has regrettably persisted in Libya over the past several years. We commend his leadership in de-escalating the violence in Tripoli and in helping Libyans to begin putting more durable security arrangements for the capital in place. We also note the important steps that Prime Minister Serraj and other Libyan leaders have taken to establish national security forces that can finally break the stranglehold of violence and instability caused by armed groups, especially in Tripoli. The United States fully supports this vital work to strengthen security arrangements. While the ceasefire remains fragile, a political process cannot proceed under the threat of violence.

The United States remained strongly committed to efforts to facilitate a Libyan-led, Libyan-owned political process. We strongly support Special Representative Salamé's vision to lay the groundwork for an inclusive constitutional process and credible, peaceful and well-prepared elections, building on the momentum of the United Nations-facilitated National Conference. Next week's international conference on Libya in Palermo, hosted by our Italian partners, will build on the momentum generated by the Paris conference last May and offer a crucial opportunity for Libyan and international leaders to hear about the United Nations road map for breaking out of the political paralysis in Libya.

We stand ready to support. It is vital that key Libyan constituencies, including Sebha and the south, be an active part of the political process. We share the assessment that achieving political progress will require greater attention to the economic dimensions of the conflict, and we call on the Government of National Accord to redouble its efforts to move forward with comprehensive monetary and subsidy reforms, which Libya urgently needs to stabilize its economy.

Equally critical are the United Nations efforts to accelerate an audit of the Central Bank of Libya, an important step towards greater transparency in Libya's economic institutions. Those reforms will reinforce some much-needed conversation among Libyan leaders about fiscal transparency and a more equitable distribution of the country's oil resources. The United States stands ready to support the Libyans in discussions on economic challenges, at Libya's request and in close partnership with the United Nations Support Mission in Libya.

The Council should use all of its collective influence to support Libyans on their path. While we recognize that any mediation process will inevitably face setbacks, as we have seen time and again, we are confident that these obstacles can be overcome because of one critical element: the spirit of the Libyan people. The Libyan people have suffered for far too long. Libyans have made clear that they are fatigued by insecurity, lack of opportunity and the many spoilers who continue to obstruct a political transition to a better future. We call on all parties in Libya to seize this critical opportunity to set the course towards a better future for their citizens. All who threaten Libya's peace, security and stability must be held to account.

Special Representative Salamé's task undoubtedly remains a daunting one, but he can count on the full

backing of the Council as we advance towards our shared goal of a long-lasting political solution for the benefit of all Libyans.

Mr. Ndong Mba (Equatorial Guinea) (*spoke in Spanish*): The Republic of Equatorial Guinea thanks Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Libya and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), for his excellent briefing on the situation in Libya during the recent period, as well as for his commitment to carrying out his mandate.

We also express our gratitude to Ambassador Olof Skoog, in his capacity as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya, for having shared with us his impressions and what he experienced and saw during his recent visit to Tripoli.

The Republic of Equatorial Guinea joins the voices of both UNSMIL and the United Nations in condemning the events that have taken place in Tripoli in recent days, in particular the attacks of armed groups and militias on hospitals and their medical staff, as well as on private entities, with the aim of intimidating and systematically instilling fear, emboldened by the prevalence of impunity for their actions. That is one of the issues that must be confronted in order to put an end to such cowardly, detestable and deplorable actions. We call for the absolute and immediate cessation of such actions. They must not happen again in future. We must remember that any attack on civilians or medical facilities and their personnel is prohibited by international humanitarian law, and that such actions can be considered war crimes.

As it has in previous statements, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea expresses once again its deep concern over the sad situation faced by migrants and refugees trapped in Libya, who are subject to deplorable humiliation and continue to suffer arbitrary detention, who fall prey to illegal human trafficking networks and victim to systematic violations of human rights, and who in some cases are sold as slaves. They endure terrible conditions of extreme overcrowding, without access to health care or adequate food. They are subjected to torture and other ill treatment in detention centres, without minimum guarantees or basic humane conditions. For that reason, as we said on Monday, 5 November (see S/PV.8389), we welcome the updating of the sanctions regime and the inscription of new individuals on the list of sanctions. These measures are aimed at confronting that situation and sending a clear and direct message to the perpetrators of those barbaric violations that they may be held accountable for their actions before courts of law.

We believe that we need to take further steps. It is no secret to any of us that groups that smuggle migrants and violate their rights are being financed by third parties. In our view, such activities are shameful. We therefore propose that an investigation be launched in order to identify those elements or groups to ensure that they feel the weight of the Council's sanctions. What we are witnessing in Libya, where some 200 armed groups are vying for control of a natural resource, petrol, is something that we have seen in other countries of Africa where armed groups, financed by third parties, sow terror and destruction while the third parties go unpunished. We have always called for investigations to ensure that those groups, too, feel the weight of sanctions.

In conclusion, we welcome with optimism the positive aspects outlined by Special Representative Salamé in his briefing, such as the ceasefire, the resumption of oil production, which now stands at a rate of almost 1.3 million barrels per day, the prospect of elections and the possible establishment of peace. However, we recognize that much needs to be done in Libya. We acknowledge that it is Libyans themselves who must lead the process, allowing for the full implementation of the United Nations action plan and achieving reconciliation through frank, inclusive and direct dialogue with room for all those voices in favour of national unification and the restoration of peace to be heard. In that context, the upcoming Palermo conference is of vital importance.

Mrs. Gregoire Van Haaren (Netherlands): On behalf of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, I would like to join others in expressing our sincere thanks to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Libya, Mr. Ghassan Mr. Salamé, for his informative briefing.

Please allow me to focus on three important aspects: first, moving the political process forward; secondly, addressing the economy; and thirdly, promoting accountability.

When we joined the Council at the start of this year, we saw an opportunity for Libya to take significant steps towards stability. We emphasized then that what

was needed above all is the political will of all Libyan leaders to look beyond their personal interest and to put their people first. Today, we have to conclude that it is precisely that lack of will that has held the political process back ever since. The House of Representatives and the High Council of State should show their commitment by laying the groundwork for elections to take place.

Throughout all the discussions, the voice of half of Libya's population continues to be ignored. I am of course referring to Libya's women. The parties need to step up their efforts. We expect women to be part of the Libyan delegations at the Palermo conference next week. We welcome the Special Representative's proposals to revitalize the political process and overcome obstacles. He has our full support. The Council and the international community need to unite behind the efforts of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya and stand ready to support those efforts, including by listing spoilers in the political process. We are encouraged by the efforts of the Special Representative to address the security situation in Tripoli by reaching a ceasefire.

Work on security and political reconciliation needs to be reinforced with economic reforms and financial transparency. That brings me to my second point, concerning Libya's economy. Too many people profit from Libya's political stalemate, which leads to a lack of financial transparency and economic division. On Tuesday we heard from Ms. Reitano (see S/PV.8393) that by far the largest share of revenues from organized crime in conflict areas ends up with corrupt leaders. They are the main beneficiaries of instability, violence and a lack of State capacity for enforcement. That needs to be addressed, including in Libya. We welcome the rapprochement between the two Central Banks and the increased focus on economic reforms. The Council should actively support the fight against illegal money flows through the black-market economy. The sanctions regime will continue to be an important tool in that regard.

My third point concerns accountability. Following last week's briefing on the invaluable work of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in Libya (see S/PV.8388), we have to step up efforts to end impunity, strengthen the rule of law and bring to justice those who pursue violence.

With the establishment of a new listing criterion earlier this week, the Council took a promising step towards addressing sexual and gender-based violence in Libya. That sends a powerful signal to perpetrators of sexual violence that the international community stands ready to take action against those practices in Libya.

Existing sanctions need to be better implemented. In that light, we welcome last week's visit by the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya. That message of better implementation was conveyed by the Committee during its visit to Libya, and supported by the Council in resolution 2441 (2018), adopted on Monday.

Sanctions alone are not enough, however. To ensure accountability we need to follow through on prosecutions. In that regard, we call on all parties to cooperate and execute the warrants of arrest against fugitives indicted by the ICC, including against Mr. Al-Werfalli.

In conclusion, we strongly urge Libyan leaders to step up their efforts, take on their responsibilities and seize the opportunity offered by the Palermo conference next week. The Council expect results, but above all else the Libyan people expect results.

Mr. Tenya (Peru) (*spoke in Spanish*): We are grateful for the convening of this afternoon's meeting and the important briefing by Special Representative Ghassan Salamé. We would also like to pay tribute to the personal efforts of Ambassador Olof Skoog of Sweden and his recent trip to Libya, which we hope will result in a greater degree of cooperation by the Libyan authorities with the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya.

Peru notes with concern the deterioration of security in the country and the stalemate in the dialogue process, which prevent Libya from overcoming the current political crisis and meeting the urgent needs of the civilian population — in a country affected by terrorism and with a high number of displaced persons, where atrocious crimes continue to be committed and which is also crippled by a serious economic crisis.

We condemn the most recent attacks in Tripoli, which show the fragility of peace and exacerbate the degree to which population is vulnerable to violence. We welcome the initiative of Prime Minister Serraj

to establish the greater Tripoli security plan and the assistance provided by the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) with a view to providing the Government of National Accord with a professional security force.

We reiterate our concern about the lack of progress in the implementation of the amendments proposed by the Libyan Political Agreement due to the stalemate in the negotiations between the High Council of State and the House of Representatives. On the plus side, we note the progress in the negotiations on a new Presidency Council mechanism that would establish a unified structure recognized by both parties, which shows that the status quo can be overcome with political will and good faith, on the basis of what was agreed at the Paris conference. To that end, we stress the urgency for the House of Representatives, as agreed at Paris, to adopt the electoral legislation required to hold the parliamentary and presidential elections scheduled for December. We hope that the international conference on Libya to be held this month in Palermo will lead to progress towards an understanding among the Libyan parties under the auspices of the United Nations.

The state of the Libyan economy and its potential impact on stability requires urgent action to set the country back on the path to sustainable peace. As Mr. Salamé mentioned here in the Chamber a few months ago (see S/PV.8341), for many in Libya every day is a personal emergency.

Along those lines, we want to emphasize the importance of the work that UNSMIL is carrying out through the so-called national conference, in which over 7,000 citizens from more than 40 cities were able to participate, channelling their concerns about, and hopes for, an open and inclusive dialogue process. We eagerly await the final report of the conference.

We also stress the need for the Libyan authorities to comply with the economic reforms agreed in the economic dialogue. We consider it essential to reach a compromise on the oversight and transparent and efficient management of the hydrocarbon resources, which are the country's main resources. The political process must be accompanied by a fair and equitable distribution of wealth to promote the well-being of citizens, while preventing the country's wealth from being used for financing militias and warlords.

Finally, we express our concern at the violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that continue to be reported in Libya. We wish to recognize and support the work of UNSMIL to promote accountability and combat impunity, among its other important functions, in accordance with its mandate.

Mr. Ipo (Côte d'Ivoire) (*spoke in French*): My delegation thanks Mr. Ghassam Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), for the quality of his briefing and reiterates its support for his efforts to promote peace and reconciliation in Libya. My country reiterates its appreciation to Ambassador Olof Skoog for presenting his report and the outstanding conduct of the activities of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya.

Despite the hope raised by the Paris conference of 29 May, which called for parliamentary and presidential elections to be held on 10 December, the current situation remains worrisome, owing to the delay in establishing the legal framework for those elections and the fragile security environment. My delegation welcomes the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General that led to the ceasefire observed since 4 September, and stresses the urgent need for all stakeholders to do more to improve the security situation, which is an essential condition for the holding of inclusive and credible elections. The elections should undoubtedly encourage the establishment of republican institutions and strengthen the security tools essential for reconquering the areas controlled by armed groups and trafficking networks, as well as for exercising State authority throughout the national territory.

My delegation notes with regret the serious threats posed by terrorist groups. We urge the international community to support the Government of National Accord in putting an end to the clashes and suffering of thousands of Libyans. To that end, Côte d'Ivoire welcomes the adoption by the Government of National Accord of the greater Tripoli security plan, developed with the support of UNSMIL, which aims to establish professional security forces. We also welcome the actions taken by Mr. Faiez Serraj, President of the Presidency Council, to combat insecurity.

Peace in Libya will be the result of a compromise among all the protagonists in the current crisis and strong national ownership of the political process to

resolve the crisis, which, it must be stressed, must be inclusive and promote the emergence of a stable Libya. Regional actors play a significant role in that process, which is why my delegation welcomes the initiative of the African Union (AU) to very soon organize a national reconciliation conference in Addis Ababa, following the meeting of 2 November between the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security and a high-level delegation of the Libyan National Army. My country sincerely hopes that the conference will lead to national consensus among all Libyan forces, including tribes, women and youth, whose contribution to the national reconciliation process is crucial.

With regard to the humanitarian situation and human rights issues, my country calls on all actors to uphold international standards in that regard, while ensuring the protection of civilians. Côte d'Ivoire strongly condemns the attack on Al-Jalaa Hospital on 6 November and recalls that attacks on hospital infrastructure constitute violations of international law and must tried before the competent courts.

In conclusion, Côte d'Ivoire welcomes the spirit of compromise among Member States of the Security Council that enabled the renewal of the mandate of the Panel of Experts to oversee the sanctions on illicit exports of crude oil and refined products from Libya. We urge the Libyan authorities to continue their efforts, despite the many challenges ahead, to achieve lasting peace and stability in Libya.

Mr. Woldegerima (Ethiopia): We thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Ghassan Salamé for his comprehensive briefing today. We continue to support his tireless diplomatic endeavours to facilitate a Libyan-led political solution to end the protracted crisis. We also appreciate the visit made by Ambassador Olof Skoog to Libya as Chair of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya, and we look forward to his detailed briefing in due course.

The continued violence by armed groups and terrorists shows how the security situation in Libya remains highly fragile. That, together with the widespread sense of impunity, is seriously threatening the stability and security of the country. What Special Representative of the Secretary-General Salamé told us today clearly attests to that. We believe that improving the security situation should be one of the top priorities in addressing the multifaceted Libyan crisis. We commend the work of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) in supporting Libyan actors to underpin the ceasefire agreed in September and fully implement the new security arrangement in the capital, which aims to strengthen the power of legitimate State institutions.

While the continued assistance of UNSMIL, and the whole international community in general, remains important, it is of course the primary responsibility of all Libyan actors to set aside their differences and genuinely cooperate to bring stability and security to their country. In that connection, unifying State security institutions throughout the country is absolutely vital.

We also underline the importance of addressing the economic difficulties Libyans continue to face every day — Special Representative Salamé explained to us the serious situation in that regard. An economic reform that would ensure a more equitable distribution of resources, to the benefit of all citizens, is essential not only to address the economic challenges but also to pave the way for a meaningful political process. The implementation of the economic reform package by all Libyan authorities will be key to delivering long-term gains to the benefit of the Libyan people. Once again, we appreciate the comprehensive support that UNSMIL provides to Libyan actors. It is indeed vital that the international community continue its partnership in support of national efforts.

We all agree that the multifaceted crisis in Libya cannot be resolved without a comprehensive Libyan-led and Libyan-owned political process facilitated by the United Nations. We reiterate our full support for Special Representative Salamé, who has been making every possible effort to implement the United Nations action plan, taking due cognizance of the realities on the ground.

The successful national conference process that UNSMIL has been convening throughout the country has demonstrated how the Libyan people are committed to actively participate and raise their concerns and hopes for the future of their country. We understand that the final report of that process will be used as an important input to hold the upcoming national conference. We hope that will offer another opportunity for an inclusive and transparent process that amplifies the true aspirations of Libyans, both living in and outside the country.

During the national conference process, the Libyan people have unequivocally expressed their support for

peaceful and inclusive elections to end the protracted transition. In that regard, we are grateful to Special Representative Salamé for his continuous engagement with all Libyan actors to put the proper conditions in place. All the required legislative, political and security conditions should be put in place to facilitate the holding of successful elections that would be considered credible and acceptable to all Libyans. In that regard, we understand that the discussions are not advancing as expected. It is absolutely imperative that all Libyan actors engage meaningfully and constructively with the Special Representative Salamé so that all the required political and legislative instruments can be in place. We also underscore the importance of national dialogue and reconciliation to bring about a lasting solution for the protracted crisis.

Finally, it is important that the political process be supported by coordinated regional and international efforts. In that regard, we hope that the conference on Libya to be held in Palermo will be another opportunity to provide coherent support for the Libyan-led political process. As many have already said, the Security Council should be united in sending a strong message to all Libyan actors in support of the tireless efforts of Special Representative Salamé.

Ms. Wronecka (Poland): At the outset, let me thank Special Representative of the Secretary-General Ghassan Salamé for his very informative briefing on the recent developments in Libya. I would also like to thank Ambassador Olof Skoog for his first observations from his recent visit to Libya.

Poland reiterates its full support for the United Nations action plan for Libya and encourages all Libyans to work together in a spirit of compromise in the inclusive political process under the leadership of the Special Representative. In that regard, we welcome the Presidency Council's establishment of the Women's Empowerment and Support Unit and the appointment of Chairperson Laila Lafi and her Deputy Hanan Al-Fakhri. It is crucial to ensure the full and effective participation of women in the democratic transition and reconciliation effort, as well as in the security system and national institutions. We also commend the Italian initiative to organize an international conference on Libya in Palermo next week. We look forward to the outcome of the conference.

We condemn the recent attack by militias against the Al-Jalaa Hospital for Women and Childbirth in Tripoli. Persistent violence against medical facilities — including the shelling and bombing of hospitals; attacking and intimidating of medical staff; looting of medicines, equipment and ambulances; and clashes inside hospitals — must stop immediately.

We remain concerned about the illegal use of force and intimidation against private and public institutions in Tripoli, notably against the Al-Aman Bank Al-Siyahia branch and the Libyan Arab Foreign Investment Company. Any interference with the livelihood of Libyans and Libya's national wealth is a grave matter and must stop immediately. The perpetrators must face criminal prosecution. Armed groups must withdraw from State and sovereign institutions and civilian facilities, not increase their grip.

In that regard, echoing the statement made last week by the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Ms. Fatou Bensouda, (see S/PV.8388), we call on the Libyan authorities to fully cooperate with the International Criminal Court to help bring about justice and accountability for crimes under the international law in Libya.

We welcome this week's renewal of the sanctions regime imposed on Libya, including the new designation criteria on planning, directing or committing acts involving sexual and gender-based violence. We believe that sanctions remain one of the key tools that support stabilization and the restoration of peace in Libya.

In conclusion, I wish to express my gratitude to Special Representative Salamé and the staff of the United Nations in Libya for their dedication and support for a peaceful end to the transition in Libya.

Mr. Safronkov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We would like to thank you, Mr. President, and the Chinese delegation for convening today's important meeting, and Mr. Salamé for his objective briefing.

Mr. Salamé knows that Russia very much appreciates his efforts and his honest and professional attitude to his work. We know how much he has done to re-establish a United Nations presence in Libya. But the reality there is such that we in the Security Council seldom hear news that gives grounds for optimism. Libya's profound fragmentation, the predominance of localized interests, sometimes fuelled by external forces, and the absolute power of the armed groups are truly depressing. The outbreaks of violence, to which even the capital of Tripoli is not immune, are very

worrying. The power vacuum in the country's unstable southern regions is intensifying, and the threat of terrorism continues and is getting worse. That is the result of the irresponsible outside influence on Libya that was brought to bear in 2011.

We appreciate the United Nations efforts to restore unity in the country, draw its State institutions, including security structures, closer together and find a way to emerge onto a path of socioeconomic development. We hope to see progress in the implementation of the United Nations Action Plan, one of whose key elements is general elections. The key to their success must be a general understanding among Libyans of the parameters for the elections, which require compliance with the necessary internal Government procedures. The existence of conditions suitable for the holding of elections is also an essential factor. The elections must represent a step towards unifying the country, not fragmenting it. We hope that the national conference that Mr. Salamé has just informed us about will help to resolve the issue.

The economic reforms proposed by the United Nations, with the participation of specialized international institutions, should be designed to protect Libyans' interests and promote unification. We are well aware that it would be extremely difficult for the United Nations to bring Libya out of this deep period of instability alone, and Mr. Salamé will need international aid. It is clear that with his direct assistance, inter-Libyan contacts are taking place at various levels. Libya's neighbours are providing excellent help on individual tracks, and we should especially note the efforts being made by the Arab Republic of Egypt. International initiatives are being proposed. Right now we are awaiting the holding of a conference in Palermo, at Italy's proposal, in which we intend to take a very active part, and we welcome the Italian Government's ideas and initiatives. We want to emphasize that all efforts should be coordinated under United Nations auspices, as laid down in the relevant Security Council documents.

We take a cautious approach to restrictive measures and evaluate them from the point of view of their effectiveness, as well as their influence on political efforts and the situation of the civilian population. The calls for expanding the sanctions toolkit in the Libyan context have become more frequent lately. We realize the importance of combating those who undermine the peace process, do harm to the economy's oil sector or commit crimes against civilians or migrants. However, in many cases the answer is to be found in the arena of national justice and international cooperation in this area. The threat of Security Council sanctions should not be used as an instrument for manipulating events inside Libya in order to settle scores with political opponents, or the sanctions' results will be the exact opposite of their officially stated purpose. The chief danger is that in practice well-intended efforts could make the task of unifying the country harder.

We urge Council members to carefully study the proposals that our colleague the Permanent Representative of Equatorial Guinea just made for finding a formula for resolving the issue of migration. We need to be combating not the migrants themselves but those who created the migration issue and who are now profiting off their criminal business, an area where sanctions really will be essential.

We need a thorough investigation of the situation concerning Libyan assets that have been frozen under Security Council decisions. The questions that the Libyan authorities have been asking about protecting them are quite justified. Those funds will still be needed when the country restores unity and begins to recover after this massive crisis. Also, with regard to the vital oil sector, we should emphasize that exploitation of Libya's natural resources should contribute to the development of the country itself and to improving its citizens' well-being rather than serving the interests of outside Powers. Libya's mineral wealth belongs to Libya and its people alone.

We took part in the important visit to Tripoli of a delegation from the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya and led by the Permanent Representative of Sweden as part of our planned visit to Libya. We are in complete agreement with Ambassador Skoog that there is no substitute for field trips in the Security Council's work. Unfortunately, for whatever reasons, we were not able to visit the country's eastern regions and meet with the local authorities there. We hope that the Chair of the Committee, whose work we very much appreciate, will rectify this as soon as possible, meet the conditions for the mission's terms of reference, which we all approved, and make a report on that basis to the members of the Committee. Let us work together to help the Ambassador of Sweden, particularly since all the members of the Council have just spoken in favour of these efforts and of maintaining contacts with all the Libyan parties. We

know that Mr. Salamé fully shares that approach and is ready to provide the necessary assistance. The Security Council does not have the right to let its work with Libyan parties become distorted. It would be wrong from a political point of view and could have a negative effect on the vigorous unification efforts currently ongoing under United Nations auspices.

For its part, Russia, basing its efforts on the priceless historical potential of its friendship with the Libyan people, will continue to work with all parties, encouraging them to unite the country, overcome their differences and move forward to a phase of sustainable development. We will undertake those efforts both independently and in collaboration with our friends in the League of Arab States and the African Union, and among our international partners.

Mrs. Cordova Soria (Plurinational State of Bolivia) (*spoke in Spanish*): We appreciate the report presented by Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary General and Head of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), and we would like to take this opportunity to reiterate our full support to him in his ongoing efforts.

We want to emphasize the point he made about the fact that violence has come to a halt in Libya, as well as UNSMIL's role in achieving that. However, we are deeply concerned about the deteriorating security situation in Libya and the surge in violence that occurred in August. Unfortunately, as a result of armed clashes, bombings and the detonation of explosive remnants of war, more than 140 people lost their lives during the first half of the year. That is on top of Da'esh's continued attacks, the most recent of which targeted the residents of Al-Fuqaha on 28 October and in which four people were killed.

We also want to express our concern about the wave of violence on 1 November, when illegal armed groups tried to seize control of public and private institutions in Tripoli by force, and on 5 November, when armed militias attacked the Al-Jalaa maternity hospital in Tripoli, shooting a doctor and causing the hospital to shut down for three days. Such attacks on civilian and medical facilities, and the looting of medicines and equipment and partial or total destruction of medical infrastructure, are violations of international humanitarian law, and we therefore reiterate to the parties and stakeholders involved that they are obliged to guarantee the safety and integrity of civilians and their spaces and infrastructure, and to apply the principles of distinction and proportionality. Otherwise, these deliberate attacks may constitute war crimes, which would fall under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court for investigation and prosecution.

In that regard, we call on the parties to respect and comply with the ceasefire consolidation agreement signed on 9 September, and to join the de-escalation efforts being promoted by the Special Representative. It is also important to take action to guarantee security in southern Libya, which is seeing an increase in the fighting as a result of the involvement of foreign armed groups, worsening an already fragile situation. These groups are seeking personal gain at the expense of the security and integrity of the Libyan people and further undermining the country's independence and territorial integrity.

Another situation of concern to my delegation is the continued reports of widespread violations of the rights of the nearly 8,000 migrants and refugees being held in Government-operated detention centres and others under the control of various armed groups. It is important to note that the great majority of detainees are being held in pretrial detention and incommunicado, without information about the charges against them or any access to legal defence or representation. Their situation is critical, as their defencelessness is compounded by detention conditions that include degrading treatment, torture, sexual violence against both women and men, forced labour and the denial of medical assistance. We reiterate our call to the parties to prevent abuses and violations of migrants and refugees' rights and remind them that they must comply with their obligations under international law. In that regard, we appeal urgently to the Libyan authorities to initiate appropriate investigations in order to prevent impunity for those atrocities.

We want to emphasize the importance of the full implementation of the Libyan Political Agreement in order to definitively complete and finalize the transition period. Bearing in mind the parties' commitment to holding parliamentary and presidential elections at the end of the year, it is therefore essential that they hold the necessary consultations on the new Constitution and develop the legislation needed to clearly and concretely establish the elements and prerequisites for advancing the electoral process inclusively and with the participation of the entire population, especially women and young people. We also support the upcoming

conference to be hosted by Italy in Palermo. We hope that that space for dialogue will bring together all sectors of society, especially women and young people.

We reiterate that there can be no alternative or military solution to the conflict, and we therefore call on all the parties to comply with the Council's relevant decisions, particularly resolution 2259 (2015) and the presidential statement of 14 December 2017 (S/PRST/2017/26), and to join the ongoing efforts to maintain a continuing dialogue aimed at achieving a peaceful, orderly and inclusive political transition that addresses the interests of the Libyan people and enables them to determine their future freely and by consensus.

Clearing anti-personnel mines planted on Libyan territory by militias and combatant groups, especially in Benghazi, is particularly important for ensuring the people's safety and facilitating the return of the more than 190,000 internally displaced persons and refugees. In that regard, we want to highlight the work that the United Nations Mine Action Service has been doing to assist and collaborate with Libya's mine action centre.

Finally, it is important to underscore and bear in mind that the impact of the Libyan conflict on the security situation in the region is a direct consequence of interventionist practices and regime-change policies, which have had collateral-damage effects in the Sahel that have led to the emergence of chaos, terrorism and militarization, with terrible results that continue to proliferate to this day.

Mr. Temenov (Kazakhstan): We thank Special Representative Ghassan Salamé for his comprehensive briefing on the situation in Libya. At the outset, our delegation would like to commend him and the United Nations Support Mission in Libya for their work and successful mediation efforts to facilitate a ceasefire agreement and bring an end to the violence between the armed groups in Tripoli.

We once again reiterate our call for focusing on strengthening Libya's State structures, including its armed forces and security sector. Without that, we will continue to see a breeding ground created for the emergence and illegal activities of terrorist, extremist and other destructive forces in Libya. Timely action will also prevent the recent tragic events in Tripoli from recurring. In that context, the agreement between the House of Representatives and the High Council of State on a mechanism for restructuring the Presidency Council is a welcome step towards that goal. There is hope that that newly restructured body could act as a Government of unity for all of Libya. We reiterate our appeal to all Libyan parties and stakeholders to maintain a strong commitment to the common goal of seeking a political settlement to the lasting crisis by implementing confidence-building measures. Kazakhstan welcomes the upcoming international conference on Libya to be held in Palermo on 12 and 13 November, which will bring together the main Libyan stakeholders and international actors. We firmly believe that the only possible solution to the Libyan crisis is political, not military, and that all differences should be resolved through political and diplomatic means, with a comprehensive and inclusive dialogue.

In conclusion, my delegation would also like to commend the recent visit to Libya of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya, led by Ambassador Skoog, the first such visit since the sanctions regime began in 2011. We look forward to the Chair's report in due course.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I will now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of China.

I would first like to thank Special Representative Salamé for his briefing and to welcome Ambassador Skoog in the wake of his leadership of the visit to Libya by the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya.

China has been closely following the developments in Libya and is concerned about the recent clashes that have broken out. We call on the relevant stakeholders to resolve their differences through dialogue and negotiations. Libya is still dealing with multiple challenges, such as the fragile security situation, rampant terrorist groups and serious refugee and immigrant problems. The international community should therefore ramp up its support and help Libya to restore stability and effective governance as soon as possible. I also want to highlight the vital importance of the following specific actions.

First, there must be a firm commitment to the overall direction of achieving a political settlement of the situation in Libya. The international community should therefore respect Libya's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity while resolutely advancing a Libyan-owned and -led political process through inclusive dialogue at the national, local and other levels. The various Libyan actors should commit

to expanding their consensus, reducing their differences and fostering mutual trust in the pursuit of political solutions that are acceptable to all.

Secondly, efforts must be made to create a security environment conducive to the success of the political process. Countries and regional organizations with influence should use it to get the relevant actors to refrain from resorting to force. They should instead be encouraged to achieve reconciliation through confidence-building measures and establish a unified national security agency as soon as possible. The international community should step up its counter-terrorism efforts and support the countries of the region in playing an active role in fighting terrorism and transnational organized crime.

Thirdly, the mediation role of the United Nations must be strengthened. China supports Special Representative Salamé's leadership of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya in its efforts to further implement the United Nations Action Plan for supporting Libya in advancing the drafting of its Constitution, revising the Libyan Political Agreement and making the right preparations for the presidential and parliamentary elections. We call on Libya's neighbours, as well as the African Union, the League of Arab States, the European Union and others, to intensify their coordination and cooperation with the United Nations in a joint effort to help Libya implement the Action Plan.

Fourthly, sanctions, which are a means, not an end, must be handled properly and should always serve the political settlement of the relevant issues. When sanctions are imposed on Libya, efforts should be made to prevent any negative effects on Libyan civilians and third countries. Neither the State of Libya's overall interests nor the people's normal livelihoods and humanitarian needs should be undermined. The Sanctions Committee should begin considering without delay how to properly respond to Libya's legitimate concerns about the continuing depreciation and losses incurred by its frozen assets. China supports any effort conducive to stabilizing Libya and promoting a political settlement of the Libyan issue, and we stand ready to continue to play a constructive role in restoring security and stability to Libya as soon as possible.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of Libya.

Mr. Elmajerbi (Libya) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and to wish you every success. I also want to thank Mr. Ghassan Salamé, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Libya, for his briefing on the latest developments in my country. We welcomed the visit by several members of the Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1970 (2011) concerning Libya, led by the Permanent Representative of Sweden in his capacity as the Committee's Chair.

Two months have passed since the Security Council last met and heard a briefing by Mr. Salamé (see S/PV.8341) on the operations of the United Nations Support Mission to Libya for the previous period. While we value and support his efforts to help the country arrive at some sort of stability, we want to emphasize the importance of developing the Mission's operations so as to expedite the achievement of the peace, peacebuilding, and sustainable stability that we all desire, using preventive tools that can put a stop to any negative developments, especially on the security front.

The Libyan delegation would like to underscore the importance of implementing well-organized security arrangements that rely fully on professional and regular police service and other law-enforcement services. We must seek successful solutions capable of eliminating the undisciplined activities of various armed groups, which consistently claim that they are working with the State and the Government of National Accord but in reality function in complete contradiction to that. They use weapons in densely populated areas and their constant interventions obstruct the work of Government institutions, while at the same time they ignore instructions and refuse to adhere to the principles of hierarchy and discipline in the work of the State security forces.

The international community has worked to intervene in Libya by adopting Security Council resolutions aimed at protecting civilians and upholding democracy. But seven years since the crisis began, Libyans all over the country are asking questions about the reasons that have led to the current situation, as well as about the Council's resolutions and whether they are being implemented. The resolutions note and call for the measures needed to protect civilians and human rights and to achieve stability and peace. They are an obligation that all Council members and all

States Members of the United Nations must abide by. But Libyans are not feeling the results of that obligation in real life. Our civilians live under constant threats of danger; the State's instability continues; terrorists continue to thrive; and Libyan political parties continue to manoeuvre. They do not want to arrive at a solution, even though logic has dictated that Libyans have left behind one historical stage and moved on to another. That should have been a step towards a change for the better, enabling them to achieve and fulfil all that they aspire to in terms of a modern civil State that can guarantee progress, prosperity and well-being.

However, that is not the reality and the behaviour of some States has made our crisis worse. In that regard, we want to point out the frequent violations of Security Council resolutions on Libya described in United Nations reports, especially with regard to obstructions of the process of reaching a peaceful settlement between Libyans, violations of the arms embargo and the continuing illegal trade in oil and attempts to use frozen Libyan assets. Unfortunately, certain States have been involved in those abuses and have been named in many of the reports issued by the Panel of Experts established pursuant to resolution 1973 (2011). We have seen that the Council has taken no measures against the States that have carried out such acts. We believe that they have exacerbated the situation in Libya and have given all kinds of unscrupulous support to those whose aim is to prolong the status quo, thereby depriving my country of stability.

We want to underscore the provisions in Security Council resolutions that require all Member States to stop dealing with parallel entities that claim legitimacy, including the so-called transitional Government, whose continued existence, in our view, is a threat to the country's unity and contributes greatly to creating an atmosphere of discord and division among Libyans. We stress that the time has come for them to disappear and be replaced by unified institutions that work to serve all Libyans. In that regard, we hope that the Council will bring greater pressure to bear on States to stop dealing with such entities and help us unify all the various Libyan institutions, including the Central Bank and military, security and other institutions.

We value the genuine international efforts that certain States, along with regional and international organizations, have made to help Libya overcome its current crisis, but we also want to stress the importance of ensuring that those efforts are clear and not duplicated, while bearing in mind the following points. The first is the need to underline the important and primary role of the United Nations in supervising the process by implementing the United Nations Action Plan, which was adopted in 2017 as a road map designed to reach solutions acceptable to all Libyan factions.

The second is the importance of pursuing intensive and constant diplomatic efforts to reach out to all Libyan factions. We must urge them to meet among themselves in order to overcome their political deadlock and arrive at agreements and understandings that must be implemented and may not be disavowed for any reason. All who violate or obstruct any kind of positive progress capable of helping to complete the transitional political process must themselves be held accountable.

Thirdly, no States should take advantage of the situation in Libya to settle scores that foster the country's instability and deteriorating situation.

Fourthly, the Security Council must distinguish between the political parties and the armed groups, since most of the latter do not actually belong to any political party but rather carry out illegal actions that can only be classified as criminal and should not be considered merely as part of the political differences. The Libyan State needs help from new initiatives to dismantle those groups and merge them into its security and military bodies as professionals, away from personal allegiances, following the orders of the State and its relevant institutions.

The fifth is the importance of completing the political process in a democratic way that is not based on the concept of quotas. We must establish a clear time frame for meeting all the constitutional requirements for moving to the phase of organizing legislative and presidential elections. The fact is that the current painful situation in Libya must come to an end and cannot continue indefinitely. It should be clear to all that if this situation continues it will have disastrous effects for Libya, its neighbours and the entire world. Imagine how many lives would be saved, how many terrorists acts foiled, how many development projects implemented and how many mutual interests served between my country and the countries of the rest of the world if we all worked to expedite the peace and stability process.

My delegation would like to draw the Council's attention to a dangerous issue involving the actions of outside mercenary gangs entering southern Libya

and launching attacks on Libyan cities and violating the State's sovereignty, as well as committing acts of extortion and murder, which have put national security and civilian lives in jeopardy. The most recent examples were the attacks on the cities of Kufra and Sabha. We hope that neighbouring African States will subdue and control those and secure their borders. We also hope that the Security Council will urge those States to abide by the relevant Security Council resolutions and find a way to stop the illegal entry of those elements that are opposed to the Government. That would prevent them from being exploited by armed groups already in Libya and used as mercenaries to carry out hostile acts, which have contributed to significantly escalating and further worsening the situation.

Irregular migration and its impact affect us in every area. Although we deeply regret and condemn what irregular migrants are subjected to by trafficking networks and gangs, we stress that we have also fallen victim to that abominable phenomenon, which is foreign to our society. The scope of human trafficking in all its apparent and non-apparent forms and manifestations makes us wonder about the nature and extent of such a trafficking because it involves more than simply transporting people from one side of the Mediterranean to the other. Although Libya may be a transit State, the incentives for trafficking in migrants and what makes it lucrative originate outside of the Libyan State. The international community must trace the various steps of such trafficking, starting with the countries of origin, then with the transit countries and eventually with the receiving countries, so as to determine the responsible parties, as the responsibility for addressing illegal migration is a collective one, which does not befall a single country. We must seek and develop a unified and comprehensive strategy to deal with this phenomenon, and avoid blaming one single country.

The Government of my country understands that Libyan assets were frozen by the relevant 2011 Security Council resolutions in order to preserve the wealth of the Libyan people. However, we fail to understand how those assets can be maintained without the involvement of the relevant Libyan institutions. On several occasions, and in letters to the Security Council and in meetings with the sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011), concerning Libya, those Libyan institutions have warned of the massive depreciation of those assets. Moreover, we point out that the 1970 Committee does not understand the nature of those assets, which are the property and earnings of official Libyan institutions. Their continued freeze, the passage of time and international economic fluctuations have significantly diminished the market value of those assets, as they have not been well managed. My delegation reaffirms the need for the Security Council to establish a fair mechanism that would meet the goals of the relevant Security Council resolutions while at the same time enabling the management and investment of Libyan assets by the relevant Libyan institutions, given that they belong to the Libyan State and that they are investment-related.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to we stress the need to find a solution to the problems facing Libya. We are convinced that the Security Council could find a way to resolve those unjustified problems and differences in my country if it were to speak as one voice and in one language to deal with all internal and external parties. It must not focus on the narrow interests of one party, because serving the short-term interests of any one party would result in a disaster for everyone in the long term, especially given that the vast majority of the Libyan people has grown tired of the situation, which in and of itself is a fabricated and illogical one reflecting local and international agendas and lacks popular support. The situation calls for the restoration of the State and its bodies so that they can function effectively as institutions governed by the spirit of law, order and justice.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I now invite Council members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.